

Inside Report . . . *Post 11/16/65* By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

The Goldberg Treatment

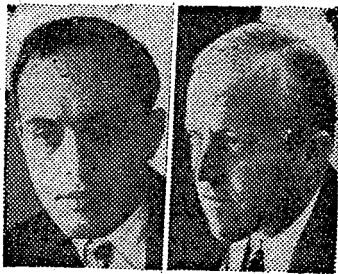
MORE THAN his predecessors, President Johnson is using the United Nations as a forum for unobtrusive, unpublished foreign policy negotiations — a semi-permanent little "summit" in which Ambassador Arthur Goldberg is resident presidential agent.

This novel use of the U.N. may have been in the back of the President's mind when he astonished political Washington three months ago by plucking Goldberg from the Supreme Court for a job of little influence in either the Eisenhower or Kennedy regimes. More likely, however, it is Goldberg's inherently Johnsonian approach to the job that has convinced the Presidents and back rooms of the ident the U.N. glass palace holds untapped diplomatic potential.

Goldberg's predecessor, Adlai Stevenson, was an elder statesman who relished diplomatic life, formal and informal. Unlike him, Goldberg is working the corridors and back rooms of the U.N. with the same zealous energy the President himself turns on reluctant Congressmen—and raising some eyebrows in the process.

"Goldberg isn't happy if he isn't buttonholing," a long-time intimate says. "The frills of the job bore him, just as nonwork bores President Johnson."

IN SHORT, the President and Goldberg have some-



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thing in common: The hard drive to compromise entrenched, uncompromisable antagonisms. And notwithstanding raised eyebrows at the staid U.N., Goldberg is encouraged by the President at every turn.

Consider his behind-the-scenes work on the first U.N. Rhodesian resolution, which lined up every country except South Africa and Portugal with the British against the colonial white-supremacist government of Southern Rhodesia.

Taking the Rhodesian question to the U.N. was a joint endeavor of the White House, the State Department and Goldberg. In negotiations at New York with Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart, Goldberg helped convince the British this was the proper course. Then Goldberg was given the major part of the much tougher job of selling it to the new African nations. For all of this, Goldberg was given high marks as an interna-

tional politician by the State Department.

THIS POLITICAL agility of former labor negotiator Goldberg is another reason why President Johnson encourages diplomatic initiative at the U.N. Like the President himself, Goldberg is an instinctive base-toucher.

Before announcing the U.S. retreat on the bitter controversy over Soviet refusal to pay its U.N. debts, it was Goldberg who decided to touch base with Gen. Eisenhower — and muffled the Republican criticism that followed.

Moreover, Goldberg has done what no U.S. man at the U.N. did before. He quietly offered to hold regular briefing on U.N. development for Richard M. Nixon, Barry Goldwater and other top-drawer Republicans who could undermine public support for the U.S. position at the U.N.

This is the sort of inside political operation at which President Johnson is a master. He obviously appreciates finding an apt apostle in Goldberg.

BUT THE President's still-developing plans for using the U.N. as a major instrument of U.S. foreign policy go well beyond Goldberg's political instincts. Mr.

Johnson now believes that his letter to U.N. Secretary General U Thant, delivered by Goldberg in August, effectively quieted international critics of the U.S. position in Vietnam.

Partly because that letter (underscoring U.S. eagerness to negotiate) was so effective, the President ordered Goldberg to speak for the United States in the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. Instead of working directly with India and Pakistan, Mr. Johnson tossed the ball to Goldberg to try for a U.N.-imposed cease-fire. Goldberg succeeded.

There will be more ball-throwing before the President finally decides how much wider use the United States can make of the U.N. for diplomatic initiative once almost exclusively restricted to Washington.

But symbolic of the changing times—and of Mr. Johnson's eagerness to lift the job to new influence—is Goldberg's elegant office on the sixth floor of the State Department in Washington. Stevenson had a cubbyhole, but Goldberg has a three-room suite complete with private bathroom. The change has been duly noted by Goldberg's fellow ambassadors at the U.N.